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AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA

(Part I)

Motto: "The Agitprop always says about the opposition first what the opposition has a much better right to say about itself."

I. Introduction: Propaganda and Agitation (the AGITPROP).

"The whole Soviet system of constitutional government is in large measure a propaganda device designed to conceal the location and characteristics of the real government, namely the VKP(b), or to be more precise, the Politbureau and the central organs of the Party."

A. Definitions.

1. Propaganda.

- a. "Stream of communications issued through the AGITPROP media to influence persons who can be reached thereby inside and outside the USSR."
- b. "Chief instruments employed by the CP policy-makers to assist them in achieving their objectives."
- c. Other: "The manipulation of symbols as means of influencing attitudes on controversial matters."

2. Agitation.

- a. CP definition: "Chief means for the political education of the broad working-class masses in the spirit of communism."
- b. Other: "Inciting or arousing people to spontaneous action."

3. Lenin's Definitions.

- a. "A propagandist, dealing with, say, the question of unemployment, must explain the capitalistic nature of crisis, the reasons why crises are inevitable in modern society, must describe how present society must inevitably become transformed in a socialistic society, etc.; in a word, he must present many ideas, so many indeed that they will be understood as a whole only by a (comparatively) few persons." Operates by means of the printed word.

b. "An agitator, however, speaking of the same subject, will take as an illustration a fact that is most widely known and outstanding among his audience, say, the death from starvation of the family of an unemployed worker, the growing impoverishment, etc.; and utilizing this fact, which is known to all and sundry, will direct all efforts to presenting a single idea to the masses, i.e., the idea of senseless contradiction between the increase of wealth and the increase of poverty, he will strive to rouse discontent and indignation among the masses against this, crying injustice, and leave a more complete explanation of this contradiction to the propagandist."

Note: Definition of G.B. Shaw: "A statesman's function is to express the will of the people in the way of a scientist."

II. Party Responsibility: and AGITPROP

A. The Party is acting in the name of the masses, it selects the values and determines the goals to be pursued by the society as a whole.

1. The responsibility for and control of the media of communications is concentrated in the hands of the Party. The organization which fulfills these functions is the Department of Agitation and Propaganda, a part of the CP apparatus under direct and immediate supervision of the CCVP(b). Within the framework of the basic policy decisions adopted by the POLITBUREAU, the AGITPROP determines both the;

a. General line, and

b. Specific course of action in all matters directly affecting public opinion on all its levels.

2. The Agitprop is charged with general responsibility for molding and mobilizing public opinion in the Soviet Union so that it will most effectively support and facilitate the achievement of those long and short-range ends which the Party leadership has defined as the goals of the nation as a whole.

3. The Agitprop is setting policy and securing the execution of that policy by the Party, government and public organizations which actually operate the media of communication.

III. AGITPROP's Objectives may be summarized as follows:

- A. To conduct mass education of organized labor and other strata of social levels (petit-bourgeoisie, etc.) in the spirit of principles of class ideology of the proletariat.
- B. To organize discussion around and polarization of the resolutions of the Central Committee (director).
- C. To prepare material for the respective Party Committees for use in mass agitation (leaflets, pamphlets, articles, etc.) (Political leader).
- D. To help and guide the lower organizations in editing and publishing party papers (editorial boards).
- E. To help lower organizations to organize systematic discussions on actual political problems, campaigns, etc. (political leader).
- F. To help lower organizations to organize libraries (director.)
- G. To organize open forums, lectures, study circles, evening courses, workers' schools, etc. (director)
- H. To organize party training schools for functionaries and study circles for members (directors.)
- I. Supply of subordinate units with Communist literature textbooks and other training material.
- J. Supply and/or preparation of stage plays for various clubs, societies, etc.
- K. Supply material on propaganda of Soviet cooperation, workers' mutual assistance associations, insurance, sanitation, housing, physical culture, etc.
- L. Assistance and active participation in work among women and youth associations.
- M. Prepare studies of work among workers and peasants.

- H. Prepare survey of political opinion.
- O. Prepare articles for its own and outside press.
- P. Supervise publication of Party newspapers (Press).
- Q. Setting up various cultural fronts (VOKS, etc.)

IV. AGITPROP's Responsibilities

The Agitprop and its equivalent units on the local level handle all work on the printed and oral propaganda of Marxism-Leninism and all mass agitation activities. This involves direct responsibility for control and supervision of:

- A. Party press.
- B. The publication of propaganda and agitation literature.
- C. The organization of printed and oral M-L propaganda.
- D. The ideological content of propaganda work.
- E. The selection and assignment of propaganda personnel (TASS?).
- F. The political training and retraining of Party personnel.
- G. Organization of mass political agitation;

V. Functions of AGITPROP

- A. Solving problems arising from the orthodox interpretation of Party Line.

1. Problem of the conflicting interpretation of the basic doctrine (no free and independent interpretation). (The party has the monopoly of the right to interpret M-L and this monopoly is directly exercised by the top party leadership.)
2. Problem of adjusting the doctrine to meet new conditions (tactics) and to justify new courses of action (test of leadership)
3. Problem of indoctrination of new members (opinion forming) (Marxist training of membership).

B. In Propaganda Matters

1. Relations between the party and the populace at large.
2. Precondition for successful agitation and general leadership of the masses by the party.

C. In Agitation Matters

Continuous and highly organized activity carried on by men whose role as agitators is persistent and thoroughly formalized (agitators, newspaper editors, writers, radio broadcasters, film makers, artists, etc.)

VI. Slogans and Symbols

"The slogans of such a party as the Bolshevik Party -- the party in power -- are not mere agitational slogans but something much more, since they have the force of law, which must be carried into effect immediately. Our party cannot issue practical slogans and then defer carrying them into effect. It would be deceiving the masses. Before issuing a slogan, the condition must exist that will enable the slogan to be carried into effect, finally, these conditions must be created." (Stalin -- Right Deviations in the VKP(b), April 1929).

A. Categories

1. Expectation (May First is the Labor Festival).
2. Demand. (In the name of groups, classes, nations, minorities, etc. -- EMAs, Komsomol, etc.)
 - a. Drastic (revolutionary, radical), demanding fundamental change, i.e., revolution.
 - b. Moderate, appropriate to the overall strategy and tactics at a given moment in place of Communist propaganda.
3. Endorsement: "Long Live the Party."
4. Denunciation: "Down with the warmongers", etc.
5. Address: "Proletarians, workers, toilers, peasants, etc."
6. Admonition: "Watch carefully the plots of our enemies."
7. Identification: "Invocation of the word 'World Proletariat'-- the All-Union Communist Party or Communist Party of so and...."

8. **Fact:** Slogans referring rather to objects other than persons or groups such as "the coming world revolution" without having truth value.

B. Types

1. Revolutionary slogans (key terms in statements endorsing or predicting revolution).
2. Anti-revolutionary slogans (designate enemies of the revolution or directly imply the existence of enemies).
3. National symbols (national unity, etc. Fatherland, patriotism, peace, peace policy, encirclement security, etc.)
4. Universal symbols (statements demanding the completion of revolution on a world, international scale -- proletarians of all countries unite, world revolution, world revolt, Communist International, etc.)
5. Domestic policy symbols statements demanding action inside the USSR (Constitution, Communism, Bureaucracy, Cooperative, collective society, people, front, rear, self-criticism, labor, etc.)
6. Foreign policy symbols statements describing or endorsing the official acts of the USSR in foreign relations -- (those duplicate terms of the national list).
7. Social group symbols (identifying terms employed in referring to social formations inside and abroad). (workers, peasants, collectivists, Stakhanovites, kulaks, cosacks of proletarian origin, intelligentsia, employers, women, elite, teachers, etc.)
8. Liberal symbols -- used in pre-proletarian ideologies of freedom (citizen, duty, patriotism, sons, brethren, self-determination, liberty, etc.)
9. Moral symbols (discipline, responsibility, model, honor, heroic, heroes, loyalty, irreconcilability, etc.)
10. Action symbols -- verbs and expressions used in statements referring to or demanding audience, participation (success, down with, fight, struggle, victory).

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11. Name symbols (names of all who were singled out for separate mention in slogans). (Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Molotov, Hitler, Denikin, Truman, Marshall, Trotsky, etc.)

VII. Organizational Divisions and Their Functions.

The AGITPROP Department is divided into sectors, each of which has a distinct sphere of operation (head of Agitprop, Director; heads of sectors, Administrators.)

A. The Propaganda Sector deals primarily with the party membership and the non-party intelligentsia and is concerned with their education in the principles of M-L and their ideological correctness (the guardian of the SACRED BOLSHEVIK WORD).

B. Mass Agitation Sector, which is responsible for the political education of the masses in the spirit of communism (mass agitational activities).

C. Cultural Enlightenment Sector, which supervises the activities of libraries, reading rooms, houses of culture, etc.

D. Press Sector controls newspapers, supervises book publishing and training of press personnel. It has the following sections:

1. Central Press
2. Republic Press (territorial, regional, etc.)
3. Local Press.

E. Literature Sector, responsible for the control of books and magazines (literary).

F. Sector of Art, which supervises activities of dramatists, writers, musicians, painters.

G. Science Sector.

H. School Sector

I. Special Sector of Radio Broadcasting (cooperating with the All-Union Radio Committee)

J. Special Sector of Cinematography (cooperating with the Ministry of Cinematography).

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VIII. Finances

- A. Dues**
- B. Subsidies**
- C. Donations**
- D. Other sources of revenue**
- E. Expenditures (Agitprop account for over 50% of all expenditures.)**

IX. Methods of Technique and Media

A. Mass Demonstrations:

Supreme effort of the CP of the masses (reaching and activating — "headed" and "assisted" demonstrations).

1. Occasions:

- a. Anniversaries**
- b. Memorials**
- c. International days**
- d. Celebrations (May Day)**
- e. Commemoration, etc.**
- f. Unemployment marches**
- g. Funerals**
- h. Evictions**
- i. Relief**

2. Outdoor - militant (spontaneous).

3. Indoor - conventional

- a. Socials**
- b. Bunco parties**
- c. Annual bazaar**

- d. Circus
- e. Dances to raise funds.
- f. Jubilees
- g. Inter-racial dances
- h. Mock trials, etc.
- i. Other entertainment
- j. Picnics
- k. Parades (indoor)
- l. Trials (demonstrations in courtrooms etc.)
- m. Tag days
- n. School days, etc.
- 4. Protest resolutions and petitions
- 5. Telephone campaigns
- 6. Canvassing
- 7. Consumers boycotts

B. Printed Matter

- 1. Magazines and newspapers, shop papers, etc.
- 2. Books
- 3. Pamphlets
- 4. Leaflets
- 5. Posters, placards, wall paintings

C. Organizational media.

- 1. Front organizations
- 2. Cover organizations (unemployed councils, etc.)

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3. Auxiliaries

4. Affiliated organizations (cooperating)

D. Slogans and symbols

E. Propaganda and agitation

F. Press

G. Radio

H. Film

I. Supplementary media

1. Agitation trains
2. Libraries (permanent and circulating or mobile)
3. Reading rooms and Red Corners.
4. Bookstores
5. Peoples' houses
6. Peasants' houses
7. Red tea and snack bars
8. "Living newspapers" (tableaux vivantes)
9. Wall newspapers
10. Expositions and exhibits
11. Painting and sculpture
12. Music and ballet
13. Cheers and chants
14. Songs
15. Folklore (national dances and songs)
16. Athletic meets (sports festivals)
17. Flags
18. Insignia and uniforms
19. Clubs
20. Theater and opera
21. Circles (Marxist-Leninist)
22. Self-education circles
23. Groups (propaganda, etc.)
24. Camps and excursions
25. Recreation parks (popular dances)
26. Delegate meetings (youth and women, labor etc.)
27. Museums
28. Archives
29. "Culture centers" (palaces of culture)
30. Stadiums

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